Fellowship

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It is not hard to turn the other cheek
After an insult, or hot tempered blow,
And easier still it is, if we but know
How deadly are the weapons of the meek:
But treachery! That's evil at its peak,
Not to be suffered: easier far to go
The second mile with enemies, than show
Love to deceitful friends—Faugh! how they reek
Of cowardice, and the stale grey stench of fear!
Can I bear this, and bear it to the end?

Yet, Lord, do I not name myself Thy friend,
And then betray Thee oft, with word or sneer
Or silence—and Thou bearest it, content
To wait in long love on my betterment.

—**Kenneth Boulding**

Primer on Pacifism, **by James Bristol**

Accent on Affirmation, **by Constance Muste**

Letter from Italy, **by Ann Morrissett**

Grace from God, **by Robert Ludlow**

ff A brief but lively and circumstantial report from Italy is one of FELLOWSHIP's features this month. Ann Morrissett is a young American and an aspiring writer, who seems to make her headquarters in Paris (from which she wrote a highly perceptive Letter for last September's issue) but from which she makes forays into nearby countries. We have on hand a report she sent from Spain some time ago, and hope to run it soon. . . . James Bristol, former Middle Atlantic Secretary of the FOR who now works for the American Friends Service Committee, writes on what pacifists believe, a subject on which all of us like a refresher course now and then. This article will be reprinted, and will be excellent to send to non-pacifists. . . . The February-March Caravan in Philadelphia, directed by Bayard Rustin, is interestingly written up by Constance Muste, Assistant Editor of FELLOWSHIP. . . . Robert Ludlow, a member of the Catholic Worker group in New York, contributes a thoughtful and moving meditation.

FELLOWSHIP

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**Pacifism is not negative—
These men put the**

Accent on Affirmation

By CONSTANCE MUSTE

EVERY PACIFIST IS FAMILIAR with the nagging "But pacifism is so *negative!*" There are two answers to that, both of them right. One is that if you see a man about to go over a precipice and try to hold him back you are not being negative; and the world, as we are constantly reminded by scientists, politicians, writers, and other people, is pretty close to the precipice.

The other answer is that we are not pacifists in a vacuum. Being against war means working for peace, in every constructive way possible.

That was the significant fact about the group of young men who participated in the Caravan the FOR sponsored in Philadelphia during February and March. They met a lot of challenging situations, and they met them squarely; and in each case they worked out a constructive solution or plan of action that accomplished what they wanted—the further spread of the pacifist point of view—with a minimum of aroused antagonism. It would hardly be possible to speak up for pacifism anywhere these days without risking opposition and hostility, and this does not mean that it is the pacifist's role to keep quiet so as not to make "trouble"; but the Philadelphia Caravan exhibited a high degree of intelligence in its techniques.

They started out by discussing where to put their major effort, since the city is big and the possibilities far too diverse. They decided on the church and school community, because in the churches they had a Christian pacifist tradition to appeal to, spotty though it is; and because young people of college age have been the group most ready to consider open-mindedly a whole-hearted pacifist

philosophy. In addition to the educational work they might be able to do during their stay, they hoped to leave behind them a committed, if small, group of individuals who would continue the work for peace and security by nonviolent means after they had gone.

In the Churches

Their first act was as simple and obvious as all great inspirations: They took Saturday's paper, looked up all the church services for young people, and called up the minister of each church, telling him of the group's work in Philadelphia and asking whether they would be welcome at the young people's meetings. The answers were all in the affirmative, if some were a bit reluctant, and each of the boys adopted one of the young people's meetings and cultivated it during his two-month stay in the city. Dave, for instance, faithfully attended the meetings of the young people's group at the Second Baptist Church every week. When an opportunity arose, he raised a question about the relationship of nonviolence and Christianity, his comments making it clear that he was a pacifist. A lively discussion followed, with Dave at the center of it, and ten or twelve of the kids surrounded him at the end of the meeting to hash the question through further. A couple of weeks later Dave was asked if he and the Caravan would take charge of a session to present the full pacifist position. That session proved to be one of the most vital the group had had.

Storrs in the Arch Street Methodist Church, Dick in Sion Baptist Church, and the others in various other groups did the same thing, and before the two months were over almost every one of the young people's groups had had the Caravan in for an evening. After these meetings the Caravaners generally adjourned to their house at 306 South Fawn with some of the young people for refreshments and further discussion. Before long interested people dropped in on their own, so that there were always at least six or eight outsiders there for talk in the evening and it became necessary to see that one Caravaner at least was always in the house, available for consultation and discussion.

The House and the Men

306 South Fawn itself was made available by May and Margaret Schwartz, who remedied a desperate lack of headquarters for the Caravan by actually, on a few days' notice, packing their bags and walking out of their house, leaving it furnished and equipped for the Caravan to move into and use for the two-month period.

Most of the Caravaners were students of college age, and they came from all over the country. Ray Arvio was from Rutgers, Mark Braham from Goddard College in Vermont, and Dick Downham from the University of Chicago. Jim George of California came to the Caravan from the detention house in New York City, and went back to California as soon as the Caravan was over to stand trial for refusal to carry a draft card. Michael Millen, a resource person who also took part in the work, is the former headmaster of a boys' school in Maine, and Storrs Olds of Massachusetts is a student at Earlham College in Indiana. Dave Sheldon was from Macalester College in St.

Paul, and Dick Talbert from the University of Indiana. The group was completed by Bayard Rustin, Director of the College Section of the National FOR, and Charles Walker, Philadelphia Secretary.

It took them quite a while to decide what form of worship to follow in a group with diverse beliefs and diverse attitudes toward religious symbols. They settled on a half-hour of meditation each morning immediately after breakfast, and this became one of the most significant periods of the day.

The simple job of living together in a small house, doing their own cooking and housework, presented serious problems of adjustment and tolerance. Nevertheless, in about three weeks it had become a smooth-running, well-organized group, with each man taking a major responsibility in outside activities and also in the running of the house.

The entire program of the Caravan was worked out in close cooperation with the Philadelphia FOR, which set up a subcommittee to plan all activities with the Caravaners; and Philadelphians participated in many of the Caravan's activities, particularly the public demonstrations.

During February and March an issue was getting up momentum on which the Caravaners felt that they must take some action. It was the question of wheat for starving India, and the bill was bottled up in the Rules Committee of the House because India had opposed the United States in its drive to brand China an aggressor in Korea. Protests from religious groups throughout the country were growing, and the Caravaners wanted to make some gesture to enforce the right side, even if its value was mainly symbolic. On February 12, to the Friends Meeting House in Philadelphia, each Caravaner brought a two-pound bag of wheat he himself had paid for, and this gift of grain for the starving was given to Amiya Chakravarty of India and Clarence Pickett, who heads a committee sending relief to India. The action was widely publicized, with pictures in the Philadelphia papers and stories going out over the news agency wires. The wheat was sent directly to India and there distributed in the villages, to be planted and to bring forth more wheat; and Amrit Kaur, India's Minister of Health who was for years Gandhi's secretary, wrote in grateful acknowledgement of the grain and the spirit that lay behind the act.

Speaking in Colleges

The members of the Caravan spoke to groups at the University of Pennsylvania, Swarthmore, Temple, Bryn Mawr and Haverford, and at many of the high schools in the area, taking charge of assemblies and talking in classes; and their reception and the attentiveness of their audiences was remarkable. In one Quaker high school, for example, they led two assemblies and then spent the entire day speaking to classes, and were later informed by the headmaster that it was a red-letter day in the school's history. Outstanding adult pacifists who had spoken there before had aroused only mild interest; but this group of young men, close to the age of the students, most of them subject to the draft and five in danger of prison for their convictions, came not to present a set of answers but to raise problems of concern to them-

selves as well as the students, and they seemed to speak to the condition of their hearers.

On the Ball

In a public high school for underprivileged boys to which they were invited because there had been much violence there, they spoke on nonviolence in personal relations, intergroup relations and international affairs. The students sat still and listened attentively, to the amazement of their teachers, one of whom said later that it was because the talk had been of something that really had a bearing on a life situation that faced them. The Caravaners' experience in other schools was the same, to a greater or less degree, and their creative approach to each situation separately proved highly rewarding.

In terms of public education the Caravan carried on three major projects: a poster walk and leaflet distribution at a large forum, a street meeting, and a leaflet distribution at the University of Pennsylvania. On March 13 and 14 the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* sponsored a forum under the general title of "Worlds in Conflict," at which outstanding military and State Department leaders were to speak. Efforts to obtain permission to present the pacifist position inside the forum were unavailing, so the group decided, with the cooperation of the Philadelphia FOR, to present it outside instead. Fifty people took part, carrying posters calling attention to the fact that there was a dissenting position on U. S. foreign policy, and passing out leaflets which gave pacifist answers to the Forum subject.

The street meeting was small, for the weather was cold, but it gave them experience. The leaflet distribution at the University of Pennsylvania presented another challenge. A meeting was being held with Senators Capehart and Paul Douglas speaking, and when the idea of the distribution was broached some of the Philadelphia people objected because the sponsoring organization was one that had cooperated with the FOR in various ways, and they felt it would antagonize them needlessly and spoil chances for future cooperation. After they had talked it through for awhile, one of the Caravaners said: "The thing to do is to distribute leaflets in a way that will not antagonize anyone. We can make up a leaflet urging people to go to the meeting and hear the Senators. The second part can carry a statement of our pacifist convictions and program, and then at the end of the leaflet we will suggest some questions people can put to the Senators after they have heard them speak." This appealed to everyone concerned as a creative solution, and was carried through.

One of the most interesting developments of the whole project was the interest shown by foreign students in the possibilities of nonviolence. The group spoke, for example, at International House, to one of the largest meetings ever held there. They talked on the whole problem of nonviolence in winning freedom, for many of the students came from subjugated countries. After the meeting fifty students stayed to ask questions for over two hours, and on succeeding days a number of them individually sought out the group at their headquarters to discuss the problems of their own countries. Two of the most interesting were a

medical student who wanted to talk through the possibilities of nonviolence under the Communist domination of his native Austria, and a young African from Nigeria who came several times to discuss his troubled country's problems. The whole history of Gandhi's struggle in India and South Africa, as well as a number of small and scattered incidents in Europe, served as a background to this problem of subjugated peoples.

They Need Support

The Caravan, from first to last, was financed by contributions from non-FOR members and from members who felt that they could give something extra, without curtailing their support of the general work, for this creative, trail-blazing job. The Pacifist Training Unit which will be held this summer during July and August will have to be financed in the same way, and Bayard Rustin, who is in charge of them, will welcome both money and ideas for raising it.

That the Caravan, small though it may be in the face of the world situation, was a good job well done is attested by the cordial cooperation of other peace groups, churches, schools, YM and YWCAs, and many other institutions. When it was over three of the men took jobs with organizations in Philadelphia, one in the College Section of the AFSC, one in their anti-conscription work, and one in the office of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, while another was sent to the Midwest by the Presbyterian Church to work with migrants.

The values of this whole experience for the Caravaners themselves is an important item in the total picture. All seven of the younger participants were facing immediate conscription in some form, and five of these faced the probability of prison, either because they had asked for IV-E and been refused it by their draft boards, or because they had taken the nonregistrant position. At this crucial moment in their development, when there was great need for them to find some means constructively to express their deep concern in a direct and challenging manner, the Caravan opened up for them. One of the men later wrote: "This Caravan experience has met a great need in me, and has bridged a potentially painful gap between the arrest and hearing. I hope some time you can count on me to help you out the way you have helped me." Their experience in meeting problem situations creatively and in spreading the work and message of pacifism into new groups will make them valuable in whatever they do, and the FOR will have trained, experienced leaders in a number of areas to carry on its work. If every FOR member could become such a nucleus our power would be incalculable.

The Nation That Would Play God

Play God? O tragic farce,
And sorry wit!
Who fiddled while Rome burned
Threw but a skit.—
We for our fiddling would lay
waste a world.

—Mary Eva Kitchel

Strength for These Days

Grace from God

By ROBERT LUDLOW

IN FORBIDDING His apostles to call down fire from heaven to destroy the city that would not accept His teaching, Christ reminded them that such a desire, so expressed, betrayed the fact that they did not know what spirit they were of. And throughout the history of the Church there have always been Christians who knew not what spirit they were of. It is true of us today, and the consequence is that we do not know where to look for strength because "official" Christianity seems to have none to offer. If we conceive of Christianity as a political force, as a venture in real estate, as a pressure group, as an ideology adverse to liberty—then indeed it has nothing to offer. But if we conceive of it as presented in the Gospels, as a non-respectable, revolutionary doctrine, as the antithesis of what goes by the name of "the bourgeois mentality"—then indeed do we find abundant strength to sustain us, to give us that which will constitute an Absolute in these days of trial and misery. I think we only find strength in an Absolute—whether we make it the Absolute of relativism, of sex, of Marxism, or of religion. None of us escape the fact that we believe in something and are willing to sacrifice all to that something. Even if it is to sacrifice honor to self-indulgence.

I know the theme of the non-religionists—that man's strength lies in himself, that it is servile and cowardly to look elsewhere for strength. But I have never been impressed by this argument, possibly because I lack the "character" to depend entirely on myself. Also because I have never known anyone who did depend entirely on himself. And I notice particularly that those who make a great issue of self-dependence are invariably committed to an ideology, even if it be a systematic scepticism. Those who fall in love with themselves, who are narcissistic, who worship their own bodies as it were, are, after all, mentally ill—by Freudian or by Christian standards. As such, it becomes apparent that a return to mental health lies in the direction of acknowledging our psychological needs and not figuring we have dispensed with those needs merely because we have given them a name.

We attain strength then by that which transcends ourselves. Not in the sense of the pseudo-mysticism of the Nazis or fascists who conceived of the State as something of an "over-soul" in which the individual lost himself, but rather in a recognition of values that do not depend on the whims of individuals or groups but are true because they are reasonable and because they answer a felt psychological need to depend, in the last analysis, not on ourselves, but

on God. Strength then comes with grace, that supernatural aid which God gives—that state to which God raises us so that we live in His abiding presence, are caught up in Him, are divinized. Is this but a projection of our own sexuality? Undoubtedly the erotic enters into it, but that discountenances it only in the eyes of those who are really convinced that sexuality is evil. To love God is to love Him with our whole being, no part of which is evil. The Holy Spirit is the love of the Father for the Son.

Strength for our day? God will give it to us should we but ask, should we but realize the spirit we are of, should we but penetrate beyond the externalisms of Christianity to realize the revolution that it is, that it could be were we but true to our heritage.

Letter from Italy

By ANN MORRISSETT

SPRING HAS BEEN BEAUTIFUL in Italy, bringing much sunshine and an over-supply of tourists and dollars and conferences to Rome. I happened to be in that city at the time that the Italian Communist Party Convention was going on, and also while the World Federalists were holding their World Congress and the National Commander of the American Legion was holding a press conference, terminating his world tour because of a "call from Washington." The Communist Congress did not affect me directly, as all I saw of it was the welcome signs plastered all over the walls of Rome, but I did drop in on both the World Federalists and the American Legion, and they provided a most interesting contrast.

AFTER SEVERAL DAYS of conferring under the leadership of Nobel Prize winner Lord Boyd Orr and other internationally known figures, the political committee of the World Federalists produced a mimeographed report urging, in addition to the consolidation of all world federalist groups, universal disarmament and the support of the United Nations in its peaceful efforts; armistice in Korea; and the opening of UN membership to all states. No doubt the presence of a number of pacifists, such as Pastor André Trocmé of the International FOR, had much to do with the pacific emphasis of the Congress, although a minority report favored deletion of the word "peaceful" in reference to UN efforts and a tacit support of German and Japanese rearmament within the "safeguards" of regional federations.

AT TIMES in the course of my brief visits to the conference I had a very strong feeling of *deja vu,* or, "Haven't I been here before?"—

but altogether it was hopeful to see so many people from so many countries getting together in such a conference. There was a slight note of apology on the part of those delivering the political report for its "Utopian" nature, and it was hard for me not to stand up and shout "But what else makes any sense in these times?"

CERTAINLY the Legion Commander's words to the Italian press didn't, to my mind. With the great number of Italians unemployed, or partially employed, (professional people, such as writers and professors, are almost always forced to carry on at least one other business in order to live), it seemed strange to hear Commander Cocke congratulate Italy on its tremendous economic recovery—especially as a good part of the Commander's time seemed to be spent between Rome's swank Excelsior and Grand Hotels. It is true that Italy looks good on the surface, and there seems to be a numerous and well dressed middle class in at least the larger cities. If a journalist friend of mine in Rome is any example, however, this does not fully indicate the real state of the economy. Neatly dressed, in the manner of so many Romans, he is barely able to make a living through the combination of insurance underwriting and frequent stories and articles in Rome's third largest newspaper. A bigger example, of course, is the large Communist vote in Italy. Legion Commander Cocke told representatives of the Italian press that this was one thing Italians could do for "us" in return for the ERP (and, presumably, the Legion's toy-donation campaign): rid Italy of communism. Commander Cocke also congratulated the Italians on their fine-looking and numerous caballeros. ("You mean carabinieri," his translator corrected him.) This may please an old military man, but the apparent proportion of the two branches of Italian "police," the handsome, black-uniformed *carabinieri* and the shabbier, green-uniformed conscription guard, to the population is enough to frighten any democratic soul who feels that the health of a state is inversely proportionate to the number of its police. I was told by an Italian police inspector on a train that he could find no other job but with the police, although his profession is engineering, and that this is a very common situation in Italy today.

Children

Little boy,
Soiled
Tired
Crying for
A lost tin cannon,
Are you
All mankind
Crying for
The tools of self-destruction?

Little girl,
Soiled
Tired
Crying for
A broken doll,
Are you
All womankind
Crying for
The broken world?

—Carol D. Davidson

THE BASIS OF A PACIFIST'S FAITH IS HERE SET FORTH IN—

Primer on Pacifism

By JAMES BRISTOL

PACIFISM AS A PHILOSOPHY and a way of life rests on a four-fold conviction.

1. *Human beings have worth, dignity and value. There is "that of God" in every man, no matter how diabolical or depraved he may be.*

This conviction carries with it tremendous implications. When we realize that there is nothing so precious in the world as a human being because each person is made in the image and likeness of God and has a spark of the Divine within, it means of course that we are completely and aggressively opposed to all forms of racial, economic, and social injustice that hurt and mar human life. Properly understood, it is a revolutionary concept that actually challenges the presuppositions by which our Western civilization is ordered today.

2. *There is tremendous power in love, nonviolence, and good will both to change people and to alter social situations.* This follows naturally from our first conviction that people can be appealed to by love, no matter how brutal they may be, for there is still that of God within them. This is not an easy denial of the fact that people are ruthless and barbaric, but rather an affirmation of the fact that there is a power that can appeal even to the most hardened of men.

For two weeks in the spring of 1950 I was privileged to travel with Sushila Nayar, a close associate of Gandhi's who had shared his last imprisonment with him. Time and again, as she spoke to groups, the question was raised, "But weren't the British much easier to deal with than the Russians, and weren't they more amenable to the Gandhian use of nonviolence than the Communists would ever be?" Sushila Nayar always gave two answers to that question. She pointed out, first, that the British were brutal and ruthless too, and she documented that assertion. In India good will and nonviolence had not operated in a vacuum. In the second place, she always said that, if the Communists were even more barbarous than the British had been in India, it did not mean that love was impotent when confronted by so great an evil. What it did mean was that we had to love that much more, and sacrifice and suffer to an even greater degree, in order to appeal to "that of God" within the Communists.

3. *It is more important that we do good ourselves than that we suppress the evil in others.* Implicit in this belief is the realization that we must see and admit our own faults and shortcomings, as well as the whole idea of genuine repentance. We Americans in the past twelve years or so have

repented for the sins of the Germans and Japanese and Russians, but the insight of this conviction tells us that it is wrong to repent for the sins of another; we must repent for our own misdeeds and not "thank God that we are not as other men are."

Persuasion and Example

This conviction carries with it also the insight that we never overcome evil by taking some person or group by the scruff of the neck and shaking "our righteousness" into them. We overcome evil only by becoming so filled with infectious goodness ourselves that people cannot help but be influenced by the contagious quality of our life. "Example is the school of mankind and they will learn at no other."

4. *It is more important to understand others than to convince them that we are right.* Most of us are certain we are right and that the salvation of mankind depends on converting everybody else to our point of view. Here we recognize the fact that we may also be wrong, and that others have a great deal to contribute to our understanding of truth.

At the very heart of this philosophy of life, of course, is love, but pacifism includes as well a passionate demand for justice for all peoples everywhere, achieved by and through the power of love.

Pacifism is concerned with the change of an unjust social order by nonviolent means. Thus it was a group of pacifists who, after the Supreme Court's decision that Jim Crow restrictions in interstate commerce were un-Constitutional, rode on buses and trains in the South refusing to abide by Jim Crow regulations. They were aggressively opposed to the injustices of Jim Crow but they maintained an attitude of love and good will toward bus drivers, sheriffs, police officers, judges, and even the mob that gathered in one community.

As Bayard Rustin has put it, "Pacifism is one-tenth being a CO and nine-tenths preventing war by removing the causes of war."

You First!

Today pacifists must call men to consider the morality of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. Much has been said about how ghastly in its destructive power would be a rain of atomic death directed by an enemy upon our country, but not nearly enough about what it means for us to use these weapons against others. When this question *is* raised people usually agree that it is far better for us to destroy others than for them to destroy us. The pacifist completely disagrees and says that it would be infinitely better for him, his wife, his children, his home, his neighborhood, his country to be destroyed than for us to visit such a satanic evil upon others.

This brings us to the pacifist assertion that turning away from the doing of evil and trying earnestly to practice the ethics of high religion (the religious term for this process is "repentance") is unilateral. I must strive, my nation must strive to do what is right and good regardless of the actions of others. We dare not wait for them to renounce evil before we renounce it, for them to stop making atomic bombs before we do so.

Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, a professor at Mt. Airy Lutheran Seminary, who is liaison man between the United Nations and the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Society, was quoted in the Chicago *Daily News* of November 30, 1950, as follows:

> I cannot give an answer on the atom bomb which would hold true in perpetuity. Everything would depend on the circumstances. . . . Dropping of the bomb should be the most remote eventuality conceivable. This is a time when we must resist evil, however, because the full principles of Christianity are not applicable to a situation unless both parties abide by them.

The pacifist dissents vigorously from this assertion that the principles of Christianity apply only when both parties to a dispute are Christian. To him this is really saying, "I cannot act like a Christian until Stalin acts like a Christian," and in effect it means that Stalin must be a Christian *first,* and then I will follow his good example and be a Christian also. The responsibility to behave like Christians is thus transferred from the Christians and placed on the shoulders of the non-Christians. Once the admittedly atheistic Communists start practicing Christianity, the Christians themselves can fall in line and begin to order their lives by the precepts of their own religion.

The pacifist, however, is convinced that *the full principles of Christianity always apply.* It is as simple as that. Regardless of the code of conduct that governs the other man, I must be guided by the highest ethic I know. I shall not abjure evil and do good when, if, and as my enemies (or my friends) are prepared to do so. Even though no other is ready at this point to do what is decent and moral, it is incumbent upon me to do so to the full extent of my ability. When Joseph Hoag, the Quaker, in 1812 was pleading his peace principles, a man in his audience said, "Well, stranger, if all the world was of your mind, I would turn and follow after." Joseph replied, "So then thou hast a mind to be the last man in the world to be good. I have a mind to be one of the first and set the rest an example."

Who Is Secure?

Pacifism challenges the assumption that hydrogen and atomic bombs bring security. Actually, they have increased our sense of insecurity. Fear and suspicion grow as we become more heavily armed, and the end result is that we lose the very thing we are trying to protect. Nor, on the basis of human experience, should this be surprising, for an arms race has always led to increased insecurity and fear on the part of the participating nations. (Actually, we might as well give one bomb to Russia for every one we produce, and they might as well share in the same fashion with us, for our production of atomic and hydrogen bombs spurs Russia on to produce them, and vice versa.)

We are confronted here with the complete impracticability of violence as a way of achieving its long-term goals. We have engaged in two great wars with the avowed purpose of putting an end to tyranny, and there is more totalitarianism and less democracy in the world than before they were waged.

Even more insidious is the fact that as we take up the weapons of violence to combat evil, in time we

become the very evil that we oppose.

We entered the first World War to rid the world of four great evils: Prussianism, imperialism, treaty-breaking, and atrocities. At the end of two wars we have become the practitioners of all these evils.

Those Evil Practices

Prussianism—We recognized conscription as the keystone of Prussianism and were going to rid the world of that evil, but now we have for the first time in our country's history a conscription law on the statute books in peacetime. The great control of the military over the life of the nation we saw to be another hallmark of Prussianism, but at the end of two wars to rid the world of militarism, the militarization of our own country has increased to an alarming degree.[1]

Imperialism—The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Persian Gulf are virtually American lakes in and through which ships and people may move only by courtesy of the United States Navy and Air Force.

Treaty-Breaking—When the Russians, in the closing days of World War II, broke their nonaggression pact with Japan and attacked the Japanese, we hailed this as a bold stroke of military strategy. Our President signed the Atlantic Charter solemnly guaranteeing, among other things, that peoples would have the right to choose the country in which they would dwell and the government that would rule them, but Norman Thomas reminds us that at Potsdam the United States, Russia, and England agreed to the displacing of more people than Hitler ever did.

Atrocities—We were outraged in 1917 by the Germans' unrestricted submarine warfare, yet, at the end of World War II, when Admiral Donitz of the German Navy was accused at Nuremberg of having waged unrestricted submarine warfare, he was cleared on that count because his defense counsel argued that the Allies also had waged unrestricted submarine warfare, and the prosecution did not contest the point.

Several hundred people were killed when the savage "Huns" bombed the Belgian village of Liege during the First World War. We set out to put an end to the bombing of innocent civilians and ended up by making Liege look like a Sunday School picnic. One Allied bombing raid alone accounted for 250,000 casualties in Dresden.

To save ourselves from totalitarianism—from secret police and spies and the loss of academic freedom—we build hydrogen and atomic bombs and create a great army and air force. But in order to protect the bombs and the army and the air force from enemies and traitors we adopt secret police and spies, and we suffer increasingly a loss of academic freedom! Thus is revealed again the self-defeating nature of violence. Men simply do not gather grapes from thorns nor figs from thistles.

What we have been concerned with here is the relation of means to end. The great religious leaders of every time and place have emphasized that it is absolutely im-

[1] Documented evidence of this fact will be found in *New Evidence of the Militarization of America* and *Militarism in Education*, both published by the National Council Against Conscription, 1013—18th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

possible to separate the two. The end may be good, but if the means used to reach it are bad, they will destroy it. There is no "way" to peace; peace itself *is the way.* There is no "way" to brotherhood; brotherhood itself *is the way.*

Wistfully we hope that "just this once" good might spring from the evil seed that we have sown, but a moral universe is dependable, and in a moral universe the law of the harvest always operates. We reap what we sow, and not even "once" will a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

The objectives of the French and Russian Revolutions were lofty enough. The error lay in the belief that liberty, equality and fraternity could be achieved by the use of intrigue, bloodshed, purges, and the like. The result, of course, was that both became bloody tyrannies.

After the Revolution!

During the last war, A. J. Muste recounts, André Trocmé and a colleague, both devout French pacifists, were imprisoned by the Vichy government, along with a number of Communists, because of their refusal to abide by the laws of that regime. The two pacifists subsequently were offered release on condition that they sign a routine agreement to obey the law. Their refusal to sign brought ridicule from the Communists, who argued that they should have signed, as the Communists themselves would, with no intention of living up to the agreement.

Trocmé explained that a Christian pacifist could not so perjure himself, and went on to talk with the Communists about the basis of his conviction. They became interested, and for some weeks thereafter studied with Trocmé the Sermon on the Mount. Trocmé and his colleague were subsequently released without signing. As they were preparing to leave, one of the Communist leaders came to them and said that the Sermon on the Mount had made a great impression on many of them, that certainly its ethic was right and true, and that this is the way affairs would be ordered in the Communist state *after* the revolution! But the revolution was necessary in order to make possible a society in which the Christian ethic could be put into practice.

More War and Tyranny

Essentially, that Communist was saying what the great majority of Christians always have said: The ideals of the Sermon on the Mount are wonderful, and if only we can eliminate the Nazis or the Russians or whomever it may be next, then we can begin to put them into practice. But it is necessary first to drop hydrogen and atomic bombs, to poison the water supply of women and children with bacteria, to lay waste the homes of the enemy who stands between us and the good society. Thus it is that neither the Communists nor the Christians have realized their lofty objectives, because war and destruction, force and violence, tyranny and bloodshed lead not to peace and brotherhood but to more war and violence, more tyranny and bloodshed.

We behave so often in this fashion. In order to preserve peace, we amass huge armies, and build fleets of battleships and planes; we stockpile atomic bombs and manufacture bacteriological weapons.

We put thousands of Koreans to horrible death by the use of napalm—we who will stop at nothing to "preserve peace." In order to defend freedom we curtail freedom for teachers, university professors, employees of both State and Federal Governments. If need be we will erect concentration camps (as provided for in the McCarran Bill) in our fierce defense of liberty. Our determination to protect the democratic way of life leads us to adopt conscription. To preserve the brotherhood we value so, we rely upon segregation and discrimination against peoples of other colors, races and religious persuasions. We will exploit half the people of the world if necessary in order to mete out justice in the name of "the free peoples of the world." So it is that, without a shot being fired, we surrender the very way of life that we strive most earnestly to protect.

There Is Power

The only salvation for our world in the terrifyingly urgent days in which we live is for the way of peace and brotherhood and freedom to stand on its own feet and let the chips fall where they may. There is tremendous power in that way of life, but only when it is put completely into practice, no matter what the price may be.

Gandhi constantly reiterated the need of practicing the great truths of religion. He was not at all concerned with which religion was better or truer, but was all-consumingly concerned with living the best and highest idealism of every religion. Although we feel that we do not believe in intangibles in our scientific age, actually this is the age of intangibles. We believe completely in the reality of electricity and atomic energy, though we cannot see either, because we see the results they produce. So people will believe in Truth and God as they see the results in the lives of people.

A story from the African mission field tells of a chieftain who said to a missionary, "The trouble is you come out here to us and you say 'Look up to God,' but when we look down again, our land is gone."

Preaching and Practice

People are cynical and bitter today and unwilling to believe that the way of love and good will is practical, not because admittedly evil regimes like those of Hitler and Stalin perpetrate such monstrous evils, but rather because we who profess to believe in the way of human decency and brotherhood *really don't believe in it after all.* We speak of love, but practice hate; we cloak our exploitation and oppression in the honeyed language of brotherhood and justice; we make democracy synonymous with segregation and discrimination. The old saying still holds, "What you are speaks so loud that I cannot hear what you say." What the world desperately needs today is to see simple goodness put into practice, to see love, brotherhood, mercy, justice, peace becoming real in the lives of people, to see these words made flesh and dwelling among men.

The Mind's Compartments

Klaus Fuchs in his confession said that there were two compartments in his life. In the one he was a decent, moral, ethical person with high standards of honor

and honesty, but in the other he was a member of the Communist Party and would do whatever was necessary in order to further the interests of the Party. And when there was a conflict between the values of the two he could count on the code of behavior in the second compartment holding sway. He would then do anything that was necessary to serve the Party, no matter how it violated his own morality and decency.

Here, Too

Similarly, Lillian Smith, in *Killers of the Dream,* reports that Southern whites have compartmentalized their lives. In the one compartment they are kind, gracious people. They greet individual Negroes with kindness; they say their prayers regularly at night. In the other compartment, however, they are obedient to the ethics of a segregated society, and whenever there is a conflict between these values they can always count upon the values of the second compartment to hold sway. If the pattern of Jim Crow is threatened in any way these gracious, kindly people will stop at nothing, no matter how ruthless and barbaric, to protect their own privileged position.

So it is with religious people in this country today. In the one compartment we accept an ethic of love, but in the other we are ready to use any means, no matter how vicious and cruel, in order to protect ourselves from the Russians, and we can always count upon the code of behavior in that second compartment to nullify the ethics that we believe in the first compartment. Kind, gentle folk that we are, we will stop at nothing to protect ourselves, even by atomic and bacteriological war, if need be.

Obviously, we must stop thus compartmentalizing our lives. They must become one; they must be a whole and the values we profess to believe in must operate in all our relationships. That and that alone can save our world—the simple goodness of children of God translated into deeds, and the willingness to suffer and die for it, if need be; the realization that the full blame does not lie with the Communists, nor with the Russians, nor with President Truman, nor with General Bradley, but that I must bear my share of that blame. What have I suffered for others? What have I sacrificed for my fellow men?

The Two Travellers

An ancient German parable tells of two travellers who came one night to a village, and upon arriving found a fire raging through much of the town. One man went to the inn, ordered a hearty supper, and prepared to eat it. The other rushed into the fire and at great risk to his own life saved much goods and many people. Finally he returned to find that his friend, having finished his dinner, was resting comfortably before the fireplace in the inn. Upon seeing his companion blackened and bruised from his efforts, the man who had dined so well said to him, "Who bade thee risk thy life to save another man and his goods?"

"He who bade me bury seed that I should one day reap the increase," replied his friend.

"But what would have happened if thou thyself hadst been buried in the ruins?"

"Then," he answered, "should I have become the seed."

News from the Peace Front

Michener Sentence Reduced, but CO Sentences Continue Severe

In the case of *Robert Michener,* who received three sentences of 5 years each in Kansas recently, two of them to run consecutively so as to make his term ten years, the ruling has been changed so that all three run concurrently, making his total term 5 years. A great many people wrote to the judge to protest the original harsh sentence, and a number of newspapers and columnists, including the Washington *Daily News* and Dorothy Thompson, likewise protested, and these actions may have brought about the judge's change of heart.

James Lawson, 21, a pre-ministerial student, was given a three-year sentence by Judge Charles J. McNamee in District Court in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 25. Lawson had returned his draft card and refused to report for induction, but later came to the conclusion that he should comply with Selective Service regulations and try to get IV-E. The judge, however, refused to grant parole even on condition that he comply with the law.

Earl Glauert, 23, was given an 18-month sentence by Judge Briggle in District Court in Springfield, Illinois, on April 20. He had registered in 1948 and received deferment as a farm laborer. In 1950 he was classified 1-A, but he had come to the nonregistrant position in the meantime and refused to appeal for IV-E. On the morning of his trial a group of 13 Japanese, here to observe American democracy and jurisprudence, were shown into the courtroom, where the District Attorney gave them a twenty-minute talk on American court procedure. Then Glauert's case was called, during which the Judge and District Attorney tried to persuade him to accept IAO classification, and District Attorney Doyle made an impassioned plea to Earl and in defense of his own interpretation of Christianity. The 13 Japanese were the chief spectators, and both the judge and the District Attorney slanted most of their statements to them.

William M. Brewer, 22, and his brother *Leroy,* 20, both Jehovah's Witnesses, received sentences of five years each on April 13 in Judge Druffel's court in Cincinnati for refusing to report for induction. Their lawyer said they had failed to apply for classification as COs through ignorance of the law.

Richard Cronin, a Muslim, is in prison in Tucson, Arizona, for refusing to comply with the draft act.

James Bolton in Connecticut, *David Wireman* in Ohio, and *Jack Richardson* in Oklahoma have been arrested recently.

Nicholas Christiano of Hartford, Connecticut, charged with refusal to submit to induction, was acquitted by Judge J. Joseph Smith in U. S. District Court at Hartford on April 4. The testimony of the

clerk of Christiano's draft board indicated that the board had committed a procedural error in his case.

Don Noble of Tracy, California, was sentenced to two years for nonregistration by Judge Dal M. Lemmon in Sacramento on March 13.

James Farmer was sentenced to three years for failure to report for induction, by Judge G. B. Harris in Los Angeles, on March 13.

James Cox, Jr., was sentenced to five years and $10,000 fine by Judge Frank Picard in Detroit, Michigan, on March 28.

Gerald Counts was sentenced to two years, in Albuquerque, New Mexico, for failure to report for induction.

Roy Knight and *Donald Mott,* both of whom had served previous 18-month sentences, appeared for trial in Sioux City, Iowa, on March 27. Judge Henry N. Graven then ordered the district attorney to fill out Selective Service questionnaires for the men, and the cases were continued. This may result in ending their prosecutions, or at least in dismissing one count in their indictment, that of failing to fill out a questionnaire. There have been no new arrests of men facing second prosecutions, but Henry Standing of Iowa and Amos Brokaw and Stephen Simon of Indiana are still awaiting trial.

Max Frederick Pardue, 20, and his father, *Max Blalock Pardue,* of Ronda, North Carolina, were sentenced to two years each in prison on April 2 in Federal Court at Charlotte, North Carolina. The son had refused induction on March 5 on the grounds that he was "a minor and a Christian" and had been raised to obey his parents. The father declared that if his son was to suffer he should too, and presiding Judge Wilson Warlick said that he appeared more guilty than his son. The older Pardue said that if God could not handle the Russians ("The same one who made me made them") he was sure he could not.

Dwight Platt, 19, of Newton, Kansas, a student at Bethel College, was sentenced to a year and a day on May 14 in the U. S. District Court of Judge Delmas C. Hill in Wichita. It was Judge Hill who recently gave Robert Michener a ten-year sentence, later reduced to five. Platt, who was supported by his mother, Mrs. Selma Rich Platt, and many friends, had been given two stays of sentence by the judge in the hope that he would change his mind.

James R. Pierce, 21, of Yellow Springs, Ohio, on May 15 was sentenced to five years in prison for refusal to report for induction. A former ministerial student, Pierce was sentenced by Judge Robert R. Nevin in Federal District Court in Dayton. In passing sentence, Judge Nevin said: "The first person I sentenced in World War II for this I gave a year and a day. A year later he came back before this court for the same offense because he still objected to the draft and I had to sentence him again. It appears that the same thing will happen again unless the sentence is long enough to cover the duration."

James MacDonald of Seattle, Washington, was sentenced late in April to 2½ years in prison for refusal to report for induction. He registered but was refused IV-E.

Loy Imboden was sentenced to 5 years in prison in Columbus, Ohio on April 17 for refusal to report for induction. He has been released on bond pending an appeal.

Church Peace Mission Extended Two Years

The Church Peace Mission, which grew out of the Conference on the Church and War held in Detroit in May, 1950, will continue its work for two more years, it was decided in April at a meeting of representatives of the cooperating organizations. Its work will continue to be primarily preaching mission work, concentrating on keeping the pacifist witness and interpretation of the Christian Gospel before the church and Christian people. Its effort will be to go down constantly to deep spiritual roots and bring people to more earnest commitment.

The Church Peace Mission is sponsored by the FOR, the American Friends Service Committee, the Brethren Service Commission, the Mennonite Central Committee, the denominational pacifist fellowships, and several other religious organizations. It was agreed that it should not become another membership organization and that it should not try to sponsor an active program, but should refer people to existing organizations to carry out their beliefs in concrete activities.

W.R.L. to Hold Annual Conference

The War Resisters League will hold its 22nd Annual Conference this year on the weekend of June 23-24 at the Homestead, summer camp of Community Church at Carmel, New York, not far from New York City. The Conference theme will be "Working Pacifism: 1951," and there will be sessions on confronting a permanent war crisis, and how organized pacifism is meeting it.

The WRL recently issued a statement of its position on legal provisions for COs, opposing military conscription, recommending complete exemption for COs, and reiterating its refusal to administer conscription in any form.

Fewer IV-E's Due to Change in Regulations

In January the IV-E classification for conscientious objectors was moved in the classification list so that men classified IV-E can be drafted immediately if the law is altered to call such men into some kind of service. This means that men who have other deferments, such as dependents, should appeal for these, and local draft boards are reclassifying men who were in IV-E if they have other deferments. During the first two months of the year the number of men classified IV-E fell from 11,581 to 10,226, probably because of this. COs are urged to state their conscientious objection to their draft board when they register, however, even if they are appealing for a higher classification. If they do not, draft boards sometimes discount a CO claim as a last and insincere attempt to get deferment.

The IFOR will hold a conference for younger members and friends of the Fellowship (under 30) at Elsinore, Denmark, August 4-11, 1951. Anyone interested should write to Percy Bartlett, 38 Gordon Square, London W. C. 1, England.

Refuse Colorado Loyalty Oath

An FOR member and the husband of another have recently received a good deal of publicity in Colorado for refusing to sign the state's loyalty oath. The oath is embodied in a 1921 law said to have been motivated by a desire to keep the Ku Klux Klan out of the public schools, but until a short time ago was virtually unpublicized. In September, 1949, Linnea Woolf, an FOR member, lost her job teaching in the Parker, Colorado, public schools because she could not sign it. Now Dr. George H. Ball, Denver University chaplain and the husband of an FOR member, has decided he cannot sign the oath, and has so informed the Vice-Chancellor of the University. The holder of a number of degrees, he is one of the most popular men on the faculty.

Paul Kermeit, an FOR member and instructor in square and folk dancing at Colorado University Extension Center in Denver, who was recently sent the oath to sign, returned it, saying he could not. As a consequence, the head of his division was notified that he was not to be re-employed.

F.O.R. Members Establish Centers

Philip and Eleanor Mayer of Gandhi Farm, Route 2, Burton, Ohio, deeply concerned about the world situation, plan to make their farm a center of preparation for people who wish to become an effective evangel of a spiritual solution of the world's problems. They would be glad to have concerned persons consider joining them in a program of seeking and practicing the way of peace.

Arthur and Elsie Delamarter, of Route 2, Clare, Michigan, are making ready a Christian Training Center which they hope to open this year, to provide an atmosphere for those who desire to place their hand in God's and be led out into sane, bold adventure in the bringing of peace to a peace-hungry world.

The Kingwood Community, Route 1, Box 72A, Frenchtown, New Jersey, is another such community of which FOR members are probably aware, since it is well established. The permanent group consists of Hazel Brownson, Francis and Pearl Hall, Jim and Kore McWhirter and Kore Jr., and Jim and Marilyn Neuhauser and Mary Janice.

Pacifists Plan Convalescent Home

A convalescent home that will be a sanctuary where men and women may find a new perspective on the difficult problems of their lives and relief from emotional tensions is being planned by FOR-members Selma Rich Platt and Mr. and Mrs. Carl J. Landes and their children.

The home will be at the Platt farm near Newton, Kansas, and guests will be invited, but not urged, to share in the work of the farm and the worship and recreation program. The project is based on the belief that health can be restored through love of the soil, love of flowers, trees and birds, love of work and play, love of our neighbor and love of God. Further information may be obtained by writing to Selma Platt, Route 2, Newton, Kansas.

AFSC Would Not Administer CPS Again

In March the American Friends Service Committee, in consideration of the likelihood that some kind of alternative service would be required of COs under an amended draft law, issued a statement of its position on the subject. "While deeply concerned to help COs in all possible ways," the statement said, "the AFSC does not wish to repeat the unsatisfactory experience it had in administering CPS." If government camps are set up the AFSC said it would seek to offer ministry and counsel and to undertake educational activities in the camps. In the event that assignments of COs to work with private agencies were made, the AFSC would welcome such COs provided they volunteered for AFSC work and were able to meet AFSC personnel qualifications. However, the AFSC would accept them only into on-going AFSC projects, declaring that it did not wish to repeat the sterile experience of projects chosen by Selective Service which, while sometimes constructive, were never challenging or stimulating when undertaken in a war situation.

COs working with the AFSC under these conditions would be treated as would any other volunteers, and though the AFSC would expect to make certain reports, it would not again subject itself to the CPS red tape of daily work reports, control of absences, disciplining for violation of regulations, etc. In conclusion, the AFSC recalled that in the CPS system, the AFSC was in the position of dealing with COs on behalf of Selective Service headquarters and carrying out its decisions. In any future relationship, the AFSC would not accept any administrative obligations to agencies directly concerned with the conscription system.

"It is recognized that the foregoing conditions would require a liberal interpretation of the Senate amendment to the present draft law if it is adopted," the statement concluded, recognizing that until the final form of any new regulations were known all planning must be tentative. "The AFSC will remain sensitive to the needs of COs and their families as the situation develops, and will try to meet its responsibilities and opportunities in a Quakerly way."

Reunion for Former F.O.R. Secretary

George ("Shorty") Collins, first Field Secretary of the FOR in the United States, was given a surprise "recognition reunion" on April 27 by his friends at the University of Wisconsin, where he has been Student Pastor of the Baptist Denomination since 1928.

George Collins served in the U. S. Artillery in France during World War I, became a pacifist, and in 1923 joined the staff of the FOR, working with Paul Jones, then General Secretary. He did an amazing amount of traveling in the field. In one year, for example, he visited 92 colleges in 17 states, among a good many other engagements.

The FOR National Council Retreat at Pendle Hill on April 12 sent a message of deep gratitude for his work with the FOR during those five years and ever since.

Denial of Grain to India Arouses Country

Since December 16, 1950, the United States Congress has been dawdling around with the request of the Government of India for 2,000,000 tons of grain on "special and easy terms" to feed her starving people. The House Foreign Affairs Committee, after considerable hesitation, approved a bill to give India one million tons now, and the remainder later if conditions warranted, but the House Rules Committee refused to take any action on it, and it died. The opposition in the Committees and in the House stemmed from the fact that India had opposed this country's campaign in the UN to brand China an aggressor in Korea, and had consistently worked for suitable peace terms, refusing to follow this country's policy and attitude toward Russia and China.

On April 24 the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported out another bill, this one providing for a loan of $190,000,000 to India with which to buy the grain, and specifying that the loan should be repayable in part in strategic war materials, and this passed the Rules Committee on April 26. When its provisions were made public, Prime Minister Nehru of India in a public speech expressed doubts about the acceptability of the requirement that India give war materials in payment of the loan, and the House, which had been due to take up the bill, promptly shelved it and went on to other legislation.

In the meantime, some Americans were becoming impatient with the long delay. Nathan George Horwitt of Lenox, Massachusetts, got into his farm truck and drove to New York City with twelve 100-pound bags of wheat, which he deposited at the Indian Consulate. A boy of nine walked from his home to the United Nations building in New York with a dollar in his pocket to give to the Indian representative. (They put him on the Voice of America, the government's radio broadcasting to other nations.)

A group of students from Macalester College, Augsburg College, the Catholic University of America, Oberlin, the University of Michigan, Swarthmore, Ohio State and Randolph-Macon, presented 700 pounds of wheat they had collected to Madame Pandit. The Greater Boston Wheat-for-India Campaign, of which FOR-member Dick Chartier was chairman, held a public wheat sale in Harvard Square at which people paid for wheat to be sent to India. The FOR group at Goddard College in Vermont, of which Mark Braham, one of the members of the Philadelphia Caravan, is secretary, carried on a campaign in their area.

Church groups in Georgia, Pennsylvania, New York, and many other states, as well as national groups, protested strongly against the delay in Congress, and Representatives and Senators admitted that the issue had aroused more interest among their constituents than any other for some time.

On May 16, at long last, the Senate passed the bill to loan India $190,000,000 with which to buy grain here, including in it the provision requiring part-payment in strategic materials. The House followed suit on May 25, and its version, surprisingly, omitted the strings. The differences were still to be ironed out, and it was not known if India would accept strings if they remained.

Manilal Gandhi Fasts in S. Africa

Manilal Gandhi, son of Mohandas Gandhi, on April 6 began a 14-day fast in South Africa against the cruel racial segregation laws prevailing there, at the end of which he broke one of the laws by walking into a section forbidden to Indians. The present government of the Union of South Africa was elected (by an almost all-white electorate) on a platform of segregation, and has promulgated increasingly stringent laws since taking office. The native Negro population and the large Indian population, originally brought in to provide labor, are the objects of this discrimination, and Gandhi said he could no longer hold his head up there, and felt he must do something to protest the terrible situation.

In New York City a small group picketed and passed out leaflets in front of the South African consulate, calling attention to Gandhi's fast and urging nonviolent support of his cause. Three members of the group, A. J. Muste, Tracy Mygatt and Bill Sutherland, went to see the Consul, with whom they talked for about an hour. On April 13 a retreat of members of the National Council and staff of the FOR, meeting at Pendle Hill, sent a message of greeting and support to Manilal Gandhi.

On April 30, a week after ending his fast, Manilal Gandhi wrote the FOR his deep thanks for its support, and said that the message from the retreat reached him as the climax of a stream of messages of encouragement, on the day he broke his fast. He reported that people from all over had come to see him or had written to inquire how he was and give him support, and that the press had given his fast surprisingly good publicity.

Will Build More Houses in Japan

The Houses for Hiroshima project is planning activities for the third summer of its existence. Begun when a small group went to Japan in 1949 to build a house for a bombed-out family as a gesture of understanding and good will, last year $10,000 was contributed to the project from this country and eight houses were built in Hiroshima and five in Nagasaki. Students from the United States, under the leadership of FOR-member Floyd Schmoe, formed the nucleus of the group, which was augmented by Japanese students and some employed workmen. The houses are small and cost only about $500 in American money, but they are substantial, and better than most post-war Japanese houses. The contribution of the project in reconciliation and understanding is incalculable.

This year there will again be work camps in Hiroshima and Nagasaki to add new houses to each rising village, and a Community Center as well, which will serve not only the families in the new houses but those in surrounding areas. Those interested in helping financially or personally are urged to get in touch with Floyd Schmoe, c/o Friends Center, 3959—15th Northeast, Seattle 5, Washington.

An interesting side effect of the project has been the exchange of students between the United States

and Japan. Several Japanese students have come back with the group to study in this country, and the project, in addition to its house-building job in Japan, needs help in assisting these students.

Japanese Educator Visits United States

Michi Kawai, FOR member and well-known Japanese educator, visited the United States in April and May to study western educational methods, particularly those of American junior colleges. Dr. Kawai, who is now over seventy, studied in the United States and graduated from Bryn Mawr in 1904 with highest honors. She returned to Japan to teach, helped to found the first YWCA there, and in 1906 became its first general secretary.

In 1929 she founded the girls' school which had been her life's ambition, the Keisen Jo Gaku-en, which, literally translated, means "Fountain-of-blessing Girls' learning-garden," and later was able to raise the Horticultural Department to college rank. The school is one of the best in Japan, where the girls learn to live democratically as well as studying the usual subjects.

International Camp in Germany This Summer

The German branch of the War Resisters International, with which the FOR and the War Resisters League are affiliated, will hold an international summer camp at Ludwigstein, near the old German city of Kassel in the United States zone from July 30 to August 5 this summer.

The old castle Ludwigstein is a traditional meeting place for all kinds of pacifist and progressive movements, situated on a hill, with woods and beautiful country about it, only a couple of miles from the Russian zone. On August 6 those attending the camp will go to various German towns to speak at World Peace Day (Hiroshima Day) meetings sponsored by the German WRL. Anyone interested should write to Theodor Michaltscheff, Hamburg 13, Bornstrasse 6 II, Germany, or Grace Beaton, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

It is reported from Berlin that more than a thousand members of the Jehovah's Witnesses in East Germany have been arrested since the East German government banned the sect in early September.

Dr. W. Russell Brain, recently elected President of the Royal College of Physicians in Great Britain, is a Quaker who served in the Friends Ambulance Unit as a CO during World War I.

ADVERTISEMENTS

Room in cooperative home for young woman alone (or with younger brother) interested in preparing for some type of social or Christian service. Opportunities to earn money or attend any of several small colleges or vocational schools in Portland. Christian International House, 3006 Harrison Street, Milwaukie, Oregon.

C.O. FARMER AND WIFE WANTED on small farm with fairly good cows but rather old machinery. Running water (spring) in house but no bathroom. Income moderate or average. Write Box W, FELLOWSHIP.

LOOKING FOR A JOB, OR SOMEONE TO FILL A JOB? Write to FELLOWSHIP magazine. We often hear of one or the other, and will try to get the right people together.

Jottings

The Southwest FOR has opened a retreat center near Azusa, in the midst of beautiful orange groves and with a front yard overspread by a magnificent oak. The center can now accommodate a group of 14, and may be expanded. Those interested may obtain details from Glenn Smiley.

Four International Work Camps for Peace will be held in Germany and one in Austria this summer, organized by German FOR secretary Paul Krahe. Those interested may write to Nothelfergemeinschaft der Freunde, (16) Frankfurt/Main–West, Homburgerstrasse 28, Germany.

The South American FOR has published Spanish translations of Richard Gregg's *Power of Nonviolence,* Aldous Huxley's *Science, Liberty and Peace,* and Allan Hunter's *White Corpuscles in Europe.*

The Palo Alto Public Library has returned to its donor a collection of some hundreds of books about the Soviet Union and American-Soviet relations, because of adverse public opinion. The collection was promptly accepted by the Claremont Colleges Library.

Dr. George A. Buttrick, FOR member and minister of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York, has been named Joseph Cook Lecturer to the Orient by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, and will spend the fall and winter of 1951-52 in the Far East lecturing on the Christian faith.

The Gallup Poll announced in May that a spot check indicated that 62% of Americans opposed MacArthur's ouster. On the other hand, only 46% approved the idea of bombing Chinese bases, with 40% against; while by a vote of 3 to 2 the people indicated that Washington should try harder to find peace terms to end the war.

The Executive Board of the American Friends Service Committee on May 25 opposed loyalty oaths as "ineffective and dangerous instruments attempting to control . . . thought."

Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., of First Congregational Church in Los Angeles, announced the launching of a Cordon of Prayer for General MacArthur. Those joining will sign this covenant: "Believing in God, believing in the dedicated, spiritual idealism of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and believing in the power of prayer, I hereby covenant to pray daily for God's blessing on Gen. MacArthur, and I further covenant to use my influence to get others to do likewise."

Robert F. Beach, FOR member who has been librarian of Garrett Biblical Institute since 1946 and in other college libraries before that, will become Librarian of Union Theological Seminary in New York, his rank Associate Professor.

Students at Swarthmore College approved by a vote of 4 to 1 a resolution supporting University of California faculty members in their fight against the loyalty oath.

Books

Concrete Christianity

Strengthening the Spiritual Life, by Nels F. S. Ferré. Harper & Brothers, 1951. 63 pp., $1.00.

Dozens of times in recent years I have heard complaints that Protestant churches fail to teach people *how* to pray, what Christian behavior means concretely in various relationships, that the Roman Catholic Church does a much better job at these points, and that this accounts for the fact that it seems to have a stronger hold on many of its people, both intellectuals and the less sophisticated, than the Protestant churches do. This little book of Nels Ferré does much to make up for this lack.

It is based on four lectures which the Professor of Philosophical Theology at Vanderbilt University School of Religion gave at a recent international convention of Disciples of Christ. The opening chapter suggests worship, work, and waiting as a formula for "spiritual success." A second chapter discusses personal devotions; a third, family devotions; and a final chapter contains a number of suggestions about reading, giving to "causes," study and prayer groups. The chapter on family devotions, where Dr. Ferré tells simply and warmly of the experiences of his own family, is most useful and stimulating.

Throughout there are sentences that one who knows Nels Ferré can hear him say with a chuckle and at the same time the deepest seriousness. For example, "God has made the world self-defeating for the self-serious." In the concluding chapter is the warning: "Watch out for comforting answers that demand little of the asker. They are the theologies of the false prophets that have no real gospel." And finally: "Often I despair about the possibility of real prayer among seminary faculties and students. Yet some of my holiest memories are from such bending before God in seminaries to share each other's problems and joys."

A.J.M.

On Interior Prayer

Holy Wisdom, by F. Augustine Baker. Harper, 1949. 668 pages, $5.00.

The serious student of prayer will find that the insights and directions set forth in this volume on interior prayer compare favorably with any findings that have been made in this field to date. For over three hundred years it has stood as the most complete presentation of its kind.

The author, Augustine Baker, was born in 1575 of Protestant parents in Abergavenny, England. He early abandoned a study of law and began to prepare himself for the ministry in the Catholic Church. He entered the Benedictine order at the age of 32, where he was employed variously for

several years before being ordained to the priesthood. During this time he devoted himself to prayer and other exercises of the spiritual life. For nine years he assisted in training a young community of nuns, and many of his instructions were preserved by Father Cresy and now are made available once more in the present work, edited from the Douay edition of 1657.

The book is arranged in four divisions which are broken first into sections and then into short chapters, thus facilitating use of the treatises.

The first treatise deals with the contemplative life in general. The author speaks of the ways in which God directs followers of the contemplative life—through two internal guides (the spirit of corrupt nature and the Divine Spirit), external directors and spiritual reading.

The second deals with mortification, which he considers the first instrument of perfection—such mortifications as an affection for sin, solitude, silence, tranquillity of mind, purity of intention, charity to others, and patience, humility and obedience. He gives a realistic and lengthy consideration of scrupulosity which he calls a special kind of fear, "a mixed kind of passion, the most contrary to that peace of mind necessary in a spiritual course."

The third treatise is on prayer, the second instrument of perfection. By prayer he means not petition or supplication but "an elevation of the mind to God . . . implying an entire dependence on Him as the author . . . of all good; a will and readiness to give Him His due . . . love, obedience, adoration; . . . and lastly, a desire and intention to aspire to an union of spirit with Him." Here he describes in detail the types of prayer, which Christian thought through the ages has classified as vocal prayer, meditation, acts of the will and affections and the prayer of interior silence.

In treatise four is given a brief consideration of contemplation, of the higher types of internal prayer employed in the more advanced stages of the spiritual life, culminating in union with God.

In addition, nearly 100 pages are devoted to specific exercises of immediate acts and affections of the will on contrition, resignation and other subjects.

This book is highly recommended to the seeker who wishes to own not only a complete and accepted authority but one which has wisdom and inspiration to offer at every step of the prayer life.

—Hazel R. Brownson

What Punishment?

Victors' Justice, by Montgomery Belgion. Henry Regnery Co., 1949. 187 pp., $2.75.

Here is a little volume that needs reading for the information it contains without necessarily accepting all of the theses and implications of the author.

Basically the thesis of the book is that the victors *imposed* an *ex post facto* justice; that some or all of the victors would have to be found guilty under the same tests; that there existed no international law justifying the trials under then existing theories of international law. I think all this can be accepted in a general way as fact. Belgion gives the greater part of his documenta-

tion to similar violations of law by the victors.

The points at which the book seems to me inadequate, and perhaps even singing its own song of hate, are these:

(1) Nearly every example of similar violations of law are on the part of Russians, giving the impression that they—and not the British or Americans—are the ones who also should be punished.

(2) The impression that law is never retroactive when in many respects *all* law is retroactive. One does not know how a draft registration law is going to be interpreted until a case comes to court. There were many principles of international law which could be and were relied upon to justify the trial of the Nurnberg defendants.

(3) The criticism of the procedure of the trials is based upon an Anglo-American concept of procedure (trial by jury, confrontation of witnesses, cross-examination, etc.). Justice Robert Jackson in 35 Am. Bar Assn. *Journal* 813 shows the difficulty in working out a system which would embody the Anglo-American and the civil law systems of Russia and France.

In general, lawyers admit that the Nurnberg verdicts were "Victors' Justice," but many of them believe that the theories there developed mark an advance in international law, worth the price. The argument goes something like this: In the past victors have executed such of the vanquished as they desired; they have generally by-passed the higher echelon of officers; a decision was made to execute the higher echelon. They could have been taken out against a wall and shot and this would have been considered a part of war; it was considered better to make a record of why they were executed, and the best way to do this was in a court procedure. As a result of the trials a precedent has been established in international law for the trial of war criminals, and a series of tests of what is a war crime have been recognized. In the future both victors and vanquished may be tried under these standards; the proof of this "new international law" will come in the future. Personally, your reviewer neither goes along with the above argument or Mr. Belgion's view completely. The book is worth your reading, keeping an open mind for the slow growth of international law.

—HARROP A. FREEMAN

Member - Authors

The Saturday Review of Literature, in its February 10 issue, devoted much space to new books on religion, among them an astoundingly high proportion by FOR members. Here is a list of them just as they appeared; some will be reviewed in later issues of FELLOWSHIP.

Living Joyously, by Kirby Page. Rinehart. 380 pp., $1.50. Devotional readings for every day in the year.

Deep Is the Hunger, by Howard Thurman. Harper. 250 pp., $2.50. "Abounding in fresh insights and new angles to religious truth."

The Best of Dick Sheppard, Edited by Halford Luccock. Harper. $2.50. "Makes one wish we had a flaming personality around today."

Here I Stand, A Life of Martin Luther, by Roland H. Bainton. Abingdon-Cokesbury. 424 pp., $4.75. "An exciting biography and an invaluable historical contribution."

Christianity and Society, by Nels F. S. Ferré. Harper. 280 pp. $3.75. An invaluable study, one in a series by Prof. Ferré.

Valiant Pilgrim, by Vera Brittain. Macmillan. 440 pp., $4.00. A biography of Puritan John Bunyan and the England he lived in in the turbulent time of Cromwell and the civil war.

A Mighty Fortress, by Ernest Fremont Tittle. Harper. 176 pp., $2.50. "A flaming prophet and champion of causes that are unpopular with *The Chicago Tribune* (and therefore apt to be just)."

A Firm Faith for Today, by Harold E. Bosley. Harper. 283 pp., $3.00. The faith of a liberal churchman.

Christ and the Community, by Gilbert A. Beaver. Association Press. 367 pp., $3.00. "A call to practice the community of Jesus within the conditions imposed by modern life."

If This Be Religion, by Frederick Keller Stamm. John Day. 116 pp., $1.75. "Challenges pastors and laymen to make their churches more than 'a country club at prayer' by returning to the teachings of Christ."

The Pendle Hill Reader, Ed. by Herrymon Maurer. Harper. 208 pp., $2.75. An anthology of devotional writing, personal testimony, and interpretations of life and faith, a collection of eight of the best Pendle Hill pamphlets in book form. Included are "The Reality of the Spiritual World," by Thomas Kelly; "Christ in Catastrophe," by Emil Fuchs; "Our Hearts Are Restless," by Gilbert Kilpack; "The Quaker Doctrine of Inward Peace," by Howard Brinton; "The Self to the Self," by Dora Willson; "Community and Worship," by Douglas V. Steere; "Rethinking Quaker Principles," by Rufus Jones; and "Christianity and Civilization," by Arnold J. Toynbee.

The Ministry of Jesus, by Charles Francis Whiston. Pilgrim Press. 152 pp., $2.00. "A combination of a critical study of the Gospel with devotional readings."

So We Believe, So We Pray, by George A. Buttrick. Abingdon-Cokesbury. 256 pp., $2.75. "Inquires into the Christian faith in God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, the Church, the forgiveness of sin, and eternal life. The second half of the book examines the phrases of the Lord's Prayer analytically and inspirationally."

Through Christ Our Lord, by Georgia Harkness. Abingdon-Cokesbury. 147 pp., $1.25. "A manual for daily prayer and meditation for use over a five-month period . . . has drawn on Jesus' most memorable words for her texts."

These Sought a Country, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. Harper. 156 pp., $1.75. "Brief biographical sketches of five pioneer missionaries."

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What Can We Do?

The Creative Revolution of Jesus, Then and Now, by Kirby Page. Published by the author, 1950. 62 pp., large format; 50c.

The car that stopped so obligingly and offered him a lift *seemed* to be going his way. Without thinking he jumped in. Then, gradually, he sensed something wrong. For all its wonderful fixtures, this car was obviously getting out of control. The hitchhiker at first tentatively, then desperately, tried to push the driver's foot off the accelerator over to the brake. It didn't budge. The speed only got faster and faster. At last, with horror, he discovered what he was up against. That wasn't an ordinary foot pressing down on the gas. It was a hoof. And the seeming gentleman with the persuasive voice taking him for a ride was the devil!

Maybe Western Man hasn't opened his eyes to the situation yet. Suppose he does, soon. Will it be too late to jump out of the war machine?

He can't, the headlines scream. Kirby Page in this book quietly, and I think realistically, affirms that he can. There are risks. And it will take audacity, nothing less than the right-about-face, the revolutionary daring of Jesus. Clemenceau even as far back as World War I suspected the implications: "When the Christian decides to be a Christian, then the real revolution begins." Kirby Page would have us begin, now. What else is practicable? Bones may get broken. Isn't that preferable to crashing in hell? The law is not that of the animals: save your skin no matter what you do to the other man's. The law is "Save your soul by refusing to destroy the other man's skin." But no —that's too negative a summary.

The core idea is positive. It is that we say No to the old blind alley of struggling vainly to win security for ourselves by making others lose theirs, only so that we can say Yes to the new direction to which the ultimate practicality of Jesus points. That new direction invites us to a bold effort to share our organizing skills and commodities where the need is greatest with a real concern for the wellbeing of persons whether in front of or behind the iron curtain. It also involves the shift from anarchistic nationalism to over-all international law, through rather than by-passing the UN.

"Such chance as there is," declares Kirby Page, "of preventing

Help Build

HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA

Last year a small group of Japanese and American students, with employed help, built new homes in Hiroshima and Nagasaki for thirteen families who had lost their homes by the Atom Bomb. This was their way of saying, "We believe there is a better way." The money for these homes came from people in many countries who also seek this "better way." This year we will build more homes for the *six thousand families* still homeless in these two cities. Will you share with us in this mission of active good will?

FLOYD SCHMOE, DIRECTOR

Make checks payable to *Houses for Hiroshima* and mail to Florence Hornig, Eastern Representative, 513 West 166th Street, New York 32, N. Y., or Friends Center, 3959 15th N. E., Seattle 5, Washington.

a third world war is presented by dependence upon the way of self-giving concern expressed through worldwide economic reconstruction, disarmament and the United Nations. If we refuse to run this risk, we will head straight for the suicide of another war."

What I like about this book is the emphasis, which faces us up to the basic structure of things, in contrast to Realpolitik. Realpolitik urges reliance on anything you can get your hands on—fission of neutrons, fusion of protons, the release "if necessary" of the deadliest bacteria, retaliation, even the Lord's Prayer if you can say it fast enough in church to escape its meaning—anything, anything to get "results." Religion, the kind that Kirby Page insists upon, relies on what is right irrespective of "results." That is not to say the outcome will be bad if we take seriously the Sermon on the Mount. As a matter of stark fact, the way of Christ may be the only road to survival. But survival is not the main issue. The main issue is that we seek to be true to the nature of God.

This book is only fifty cents; cheap enough so you can give it away to students, ministers and laymen, but beware! The habit may turn into a costly addiction. The print is strong and clear like the thinking. The statistics are attested. The topics are relevant: race, economics, civil liberties, the relationship of power groups, the church, the plight of people in Jesus' time as compared with our dilemma today; and the third alternative indicated by the total impact of Jesus, which is neither lying down to evil nor lashing out at it with evil methods. The inspiration is tested. Here in a few pages are the findings of a man who through the madness of the first and second world wars, in between and ever since, has kept his mind sane and undiscouraged, by increasing intimacy with his Master.

"I like the man," said Thoreau in effect, "who when a crisis frightens everybody else goes out to meet it like the woman he loves." In this book, Kirby Page's twenty-second, there is packed the essence of a great spirit's loyalty, insight and sheer joy over being on this earth to answer danger with such outgoing faith.

—ALLAN A. HUNTER

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FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

Letters

New Member

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

My husband and I are so very pleased with the work of the F.O.R. We wish we could give a large donation. But for now we will just pay our membership dues. We have a ten-weeks-old son, Mark Alan, we wish to "officially" make a member, too. Enclosed is a check for the three of us.

MRS. VICTOR KAUFMAN
Grand Forks, North Dakota

F.O.R. in Europe

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We were much interested in the two articles by André and Magda Trocmé, which appeared in FELLOWSHIP last summer in "Pacifists Around the World," telling of the establishment of the IFOR project, the House of Reconciliation at Versailles, and some of their problems in connection with it. Our imaginations were intrigued by the possibilities presented here for a real work of reconciliation in the heart of Europe, and we were challenged to have a little bigger part through sending an occasional CARE package.

In some of Magda Trocmé's letters we learned that all sorts of groups are mingled there on weekends—groups with different outlooks and different social, national, racial and religious backgrounds —with an opportunity to come to understand each other, and for study and retreats. The need for the house was so great even before it was finished and formally opened that three weekend conferences were received. We were thrilled to have the report that the sympathy for nonviolent pacifism among the Catholics, Communists and Protestants is growing at such speed that they had to be in a strategic position to help channel the good will at work around them. As Magda says, "France is one of the burning spots, where today East and West meet, and in our house men of all needs and allegiances meet under the sign of the divine Love."

When we inquired about the need for a linen package or other possible necessities that were lacking we learned that a washing machine and hot water heater were needed desperately. From the start the House has operated on a minimum budget supplied by the IFOR and gifts of friends who believe in the job they are trying to do. Both the Trocmés have suffered serious illnesses in the past year, and in spite of this are trying to operate with the most inadequate facilities. When we learned that a serviceable hot water heater could be purchased there for $115 and a washing machine for $230, the Seattle FOR set up a "Friends of the House of Reconciliation" to try to raise this amount as quickly as possible.

We are now forwarding $100 to the Trocmés in the hope that they may be able to use this as a substantial payment on these most necessary pieces of equipment and that we may be able to raise more. It occurred to us that other groups throughout the country might also wish to have a part with us in helping to "hold up the hands" of these, our representatives, in their strategic situation. Beside this equipment they need seed for the large garden, vegetable, flower and grass, amounting to $43, and a basketball game

which would cost $28. CARE packages are also a great help and should be addressed to A. Trocmé for the FOR House, 2, rue du General Pershing, Versailles S 0, France. We have said nothing about the dictaphone which would be so important in the absence of a full-time secretary for this chief European secretary of the FOR, or the vegetable peeler to help take the place of the servants they do not have at the time of big meetings and conferences when people stay for several days, amounting in total to another $400.

We should be so happy to hear from any other groups who might wish to share with us in this effort.

MILDRED B. POTTS
Route 3
Snohomish, Wash.

No 2d Class Pacifists

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am an enthusiastic and conscientious reader of FELLOWSHIP. Is it necessary, do you think, to make those who for reasons of their own do not wish to refuse their taxes or who may not be in a position to do so, feel that they are "half-pacifists"? I am quoting this expression out of one of the letters (or contributions) in the last issue. It has a strange effect on me. I have my very definite reasons why I am not resorting to that particular measure of demonstrating my pacifistic views and I feel that I have a right to them without being called a name. There are those among my friends, earnest Christians who are seeking the right way for themselves in their relation to God, who may have other reasons than I have for not refusing taxes. I work closely with that wonderful group of people, the Salvation Army, who again have a somewhat different philosophy of pacifism but who are most dedicated, most complete in the exercise of the Christian faith. They do many things which according to the views expressed in FELLOWSHIP would make them "half-pacifists"; another way of expressing it would be "insincere" or "dishonest."

I feel very strongly that such an attitude of rejection and criticism is not in keeping with the completely accepting attitude of love that we pacifists should extend to each other. It definitely antagonizes, it does not win, it does not convince. I wish it would be considered sufficient to tell of those courageous people who use tax refusal as a method of demonstration in FELLOWSHIP and leave it there without telling the rest of us in no uncertain and rather aggressive terms that we should do likewise or be called "half-pacifists."

MARGARET VON SELLE
Cincinnati, Ohio

It is certainly not the policy of FELLOWSHIP *or the FOR to think of some members as better pacifists than others, or to make the holders of any point of view feel like "second-class members," and we hope individual members do not do this either. The FOR membership includes people whose points of view differ widely on a number of issues such as tax-refusal, civil disobedience, anti-vivisection and others. The Letters columns in* FELLOWSHIP *give opportunity for members to express these points of view, sometimes representing a large proportion of the membership and sometimes, no doubt, a minority as small as one.*—ED.

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